

JPRS 74037

17 August 1979

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1708

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FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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<b>REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE</b>		<b>1. REPORT NO.</b> JPRS 74037	<b>2.</b>	<b>3. Recipient's Accession No.</b>																		
<b>4. Title and Subtitle</b> EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1708			<b>5. Report Date</b> 17 August 1979																			
<b>7. Author(s)</b>			<b>6.</b>																			
<b>9. Performing Organization Name and Address</b> Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			<b>8. Performing Organization Rept. No.</b>																			
<b>12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address</b>  As above			<b>10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.</b>																			
			<b>11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No.</b> (C) (G)																			
			<b>13. Type of Report &amp; Period Covered</b>																			
			<b>14.</b>																			
<b>15. Supplementary Notes</b>																						
<b>16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words)</b>  This serial report contains information on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																						
<b>17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors</b>  <table border="0"> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> <b>b. Identifiers/Open Ended Terms</b>  <b>c. COSATI Field/Group</b> 5D, 5K, 15					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science	<input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia	
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<b>18. Availability Statement</b> Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161		<b>19. Security Class (This Report)</b> UNCLASSIFIED		<b>21. No. of Pages</b> 57																		
		<b>20. Security Class (This Page)</b> UNCLASSIFIED		<b>22. Price</b>																		

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### USSR-YUGOSLAV COOPERATION NOTED BY TRADE UNION OFFICIAL

Belgrade RAD in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 79 p 18

[Text of statement given by the President of the All-Federation Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, Aleksey Ivanovich Shibayev, to RAD at the end of last week, at the end of the Soviet Trade Union Delegation's visit to Yugoslavia]

[Text] At the invitation of the council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia [SSJ], the Soviet Trade Union paid an official and friendly visit to a country toward which the Soviet workers nourish feelings of deep sympathy and respect. It is with pleasure that I emphasize that the visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, talks with comrade Mika Spiljak and other managers of the SSJ, as well as meetings with workers from a number of enterprises, made it possible for our delegation to become comprehensively acquainted with the life of the Yugoslav workers and the activities of their trade union organizations.

Lately, the relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have been characterized by stability, comprehensiveness and mutual utility. This was also definitively confirmed by the talks between comrades Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito in May of this year. In his toast during the luncheon in honor of the high Yugoslav guest, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the Soviet Union is in favor of relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia that are free of any uncertainties, relations which are sincere and completely equal.

All this is completely applicable to the Soviet-Yugoslav trade union relations as well. The relations between the USSR and Yugoslav workers are characterized by constant strivings toward a broad, comprehensive cooperation. Differences in approaches to certain questions of union participation in production activity and social life, and a host of international problems, cannot be an obstacle to the development of fruitful relations.

## The Meaning of Contacts Between the Work Collectives

I would like to mention that during the past 4 years these relations have grown significantly stronger. We must act in the direction of broadening and developing Soviet-Yugoslav trade union cooperation, in order to make it even stronger and more stable.

We give special significance to immediate contacts between work collectives. This makes it possible for workers to get to know each other better and to exchange experiences. Such natural relations contribute, in the final analysis, to the strengthening of the friendship between our two countries.

We could quote a number of enterprises which have established permanent mutual relations. They are, for example, the Leningrad Metal Institute and the Ljubljana LITOSTROJ, the automobile factory carrying the name Likhachev and the TAM automobile factory in Maribor, the Volga Automobile Factory and the Kragujevac CRVENA ZASTAVA, and the Herson and Split shipyards. Mutual acquaintance with the work experience of the work collectives and the utilization of this experience under local conditions makes it possible for these enterprises to solve even more successfully the tasks that lie before them.

Such an aspect of cooperation makes it possible for workers not only to become acquainted with production experience but also to gain a deeper knowledge of the social, political and cultural life of the people of both countries. In reality, it is not a matter of only mutual economic benefit but also of a task of great political significance. Direct contacts between the working people of socialist countries and direct meetings on the job are, in my opinion, one of the pronounced manifestations of class solidarity of the working people. Keeping all this in mind, we consider it desirable to include new collectives in this form of cooperation.

## Readiness to Deepen Relations

A richness of content is the characteristic of relations between the trade union councils of the fraternal republics, towns and regions of the USSR and Yugoslavia. The contacts between the branch trade unions of both countries are also dynamic. Both Soviet and Yugoslav spectators warmly welcome the appearances of cultural-artistic companies, and this is one aspect of the exchange which is also becoming traditional.

Of great significance are the meetings, mutual studies of experience and discussions of various aspects of trade union activity.



The Soviet-Yugoslav documents which were signed in May of this year by leaders of both countries serve as a strong basis for a further broadening and deepening of our cooperation.

The conversations held during our visit, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and openness, confirmed the readiness to deepen the cooperation, which pointed out new areas for such bilateral activity. There is no doubt that this is in the basic interest of the workers of our countries.

9110

CSO: 2800

## ALBANIA

### 'ATA' SUMMARIZES EDITORIAL ON HOXHA'S BOOK ON CHINA

Tirana ATA in English 9040 GMT 16 Jul 79 AU

[Text] Tirana, July 16 (ATA)--In one of its articles, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes that in his book "Reflections on China" Comrade Enver Hoxha makes also a Marxist-Leninist class analysis of the Sino-American relations and draws the conclusion that the Chinese policy towards American imperialism has been characterized by vacillations and opportunism.

Thus, at the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1956 (or even earlier) the Chinese revisionists considered American imperialism as the main danger. This stand seemed revolutionary in its general outlook. But, precisely at this stage of the Chinese "anti-imperialist" strategy, relying on the stands of the Chinese towards the dangerous plots of the U.S.A. against the peoples and their freedom, Comrade Enver Hoxha fully underlines a very important fact and which constitutes the starting point for the explanation of the enigma of the Sino-American counterrevolutionary relations. He writes: "Death silence in Chinese foreign policy. Khrushchev, Tito, Kennedy are striking underhand deals and we shall see what emerges from them. The Chinese are keeping quiet..." (Eng. Ed. page 39). Today, after reading and getting acquainted with the new book of Comrade Enver Hoxha, one can easily explain such a silence: China could not attack openly and "expose" that or those with whom it had envisaged and planned to become blood brothers.

In 1969, at their 9th Congress, the Chinese changed the focus of their strategy and they proclaimed as their main enemy alongside American imperialism also Soviet social-imperialism. But even earlier (read the note of October 15, 1968) Comrade Enver Hoxha with special skill and farsightedness points out and refutes the views of Zhou Enlai and the Chinese leadership, whose strategy considered the Soviet revisionists as the main and the most powerful enemies, whereas the American imperialism as less dangerous enemies for China. Meanwhile, the overt and secret contacts and deals were continuing between China and the U.S.A. In 1973 at the 10th Congress, the spearhead changed again: Soviet social-imperialism

alone remained the main enemy. At this stage, the Chinese revisionists proclaimed also the Mao Zedong's theory of "three worlds," through which they preached alliance with American imperialism and the international reactionary bourgeoisie at all cost.

Today we have at our disposal unnumerable facts proving that the policy of preparing the Sino-American counterrevolutionary coalition had very deep roots in the ranks of the Chinese leaders and that this had been their "dream." This is also confirmed by the secret correspondence of 1949 which took place between Chou Enlai and the chieftains of the United States of America with the approval of Mao. It reveals that the Chinese "communist" leaders have stated in writing that they like more the "American democracy," that they want to have ties only with the United States of America and that they will work in this direction.

Time fully proved the forecasts of Comrade Enver Hoxha with regard to the Sino-American counterrevolutionary and imperialist alliance, which today is a fact known on a worldwide scale.

The United States of America and China have a common global strategy which aims at sabotaging and hitting the revolutionary struggles of the international proletariat and the peoples who are fighting for their social and national liberation. Facts go to show that China has been transformed into a bastion of world counterrevolutionary capitalism; that it is becoming an imperialist superpower with the aid and support, first of all of American imperialism; that China, in the same way as the United States of America and the Soviet Union, is making preparations for expansion, war and aggression.

Through facts and a great clarity, based on a systematic pursuit of the foreign policy of China, in his book Comrade Enver Hoxha shows how such phenomena as Great Han chauvinist tendencies towards the neighbouring nations and nationalities, chauvinist territorial claims towards the Soviet Union and others come to the force in this policy, sometimes about one issue and sometimes about another. This counterrevolutionary, underprincipled and chauvinist policy would lead China up to the shameful military fascist-imperialist type of aggression against Vietnam. The openings in its foreign policy were done proceeding from nonrevolutionary positions and not only towards the United States of America, but also towards the other countries having the most savage reactionary, fascist and dictatorial regimes. For the Chinese revisionist and anti-Marxist rulers, from Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shao Qi and down to the actual Hua-Teng group, correct, acceptable, even "obligatory" for all, has been and is only what is needed and serves the aims of China and its short and long term chauvinist schemes. Only on this "principle" have the "Chinese statemen" built and build the strategy and tactics of their anti-Marxist, counterrevolutionary, pragmatic, foreign policy.

Analyzing, step-by-step, the stand of the Chinese revisionist leadership towards American imperialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes also the diabolic Chinese tactic of keeping secret from the PLA the Sino-American negotiations.

The Party of Labour of Albania has never reconciled itself with the counterrevolutionary vacillations of the Chinese foreign policy, with the anti-Marxist stands and actions of the Chinese leaders. Always, through arguments, with cool-headedness, assuming upon itself all the responsibilities that would derive from such a thing, it has made known to the Chinese leadership its opinions and oppositions and has maintained the stand it ought to maintain and which was in conformity with the interests of our homeland, Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, the peoples of the world.

In conclusion ZERI I POPULLIT writes: For the world's peoples, the revolutionaries, the genuine Marxist-Leninists and the fighters for social and national liberation everywhere in the world, the Sino-American counterrevolutionary political combinations and alliances, as well as those with the other imperialist countries and reactionary forces, make imperative the question of ceaseless vigilance, because the dangers are ever great. In this direction, the new book by Comrade Enver Hoxha "Reflections on China," which exposes these political combinations and these counterrevolutionary alliances, today with American imperialism and world reaction, and tomorrow, why not also with Soviet social-imperialism, is a very precious contribution.

CSO: 2020

## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

U.S. PROPAGANDA MEDIA--In order to carry out its ideological aggression against other countries and peoples, U.S. imperialism has created and maintains a huge apparatus including newspapers, journals, radio and TV stations, news agencies and other information and propaganda media. This huge apparatus serves U.S. imperialism in disseminating its ideology, policy and corrupted way of life. To carry out this undermined activity, U.S. imperialism spares neither funds nor equipment. It has set up a number of specialized agencies, spending huge amounts of money. One of these is the USIA which, together with another agency USIS, and the State Department Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, has an annual budget of \$200 million. This agency has at its disposal 36 radio broadcasting stations and publishing houses print materials in 29 languages. The major organ of USIA for carrying out ideological aggression is the ill-famed Voice of America, broadcasting in 50 foreign languages through 120 radio stations established at key points around the globe. In addition, this agency prepares hundreds of TV programs which are rebroadcast through 2,087 stations in 97 countries. [Text] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1230 GMT 28 Jul 79 AU]

CSO: 2100



EDUCATIONAL CAMPS FOR GYPSY CHILDREN IN CSR

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 31 Jul 79 p 2

[Article: "Recreation for Gypsy Children"]

[Text] Gypsy children and youth have the possibility to take advantage of summer recreation-educational camps and social health courses, which are every year organized by the national committees as one of the main forms of group social work under the methodical guidance of the CSR Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

The task of the summer recreation-educational camps for gypsy children is to gain and solidify the basic social, cultural, and health habits of gypsy children who are either educationally neglected or in poor health. The social health courses designed for maturing gypsy girls are trying to shape and solidify their social and especially their health education prior to their entering active life.

The camps and courses are two weeks long on the average, which is a relatively short time for obtaining outstanding results from the gypsy children and youth. Great organizational problems are posed in obtaining a suitable site which is appropriate both regards equipment and size.

The number of participants in the summer recreation-educational camps and social health courses is constantly growing; there are already almost 3,500 this year. Experiences indicate that concentrating of gypsy children and youth in boarding school facilities considerably contributed to removal of the gaps caused by insufficient education within the family.

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

**AFGHANISTAN ACHIEVEMENTS**--Recently the Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan approved the resolution on the establishment of a national organization for the defense of the revolution. It should be a mass sociopolitical association in which all patriotic forces in Afghanistan will be united in order to defend--jointly and, if need be, even with weapon in hand--the results of the April Revolution. Committees and councils are now being organized throughout the country on various levels. This broad front is a barrier against the hostile activities on the domestic bourgeoisie, which is attempting to retrieve its lost positions, as well as against its foreign supporters, who are following the changes in Afghanistan with hatred. But the reaction has not yet reconciled itself to its defeat. With the assistance of certain neighboring states, special trained elements are now entering the Afghanistani territory and terrorizing the population, setting fire to the harvest and engaging in economic and political subversion. But, as certain energetic actions have shown, the Afghani people are determined to successfully defend the achievements attained and to continue on the path they have taken. [Excerpts] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Jul 79 p 7 AU]

CSO: 2400

WEST GERMAN STUDY ON CONTINUED GDR BIRTHRATE INCREASE

[Editorial Report] The West Berlin DIW-WOCHENBERICHT in German Vol 46, No 30, 26 July 1979, contains an article on pages 315-321, entitled "Continued High Birthrate Statistics in the GDR," by Heinz Vortmann. The article, a detailed analysis of factors involved in the sustained GDR birthrate increase, constitutes an expansion of Vortmann's analytical article appearing in the West Berlin quarterly DIW-VIERTELJAHRSSHEFT No 3, 1978, pages 210-232, entitled "Birthrate Increase in the GDR--Result of the 'Year of the Baby'--Birthrate Trends and Family Assistance in the GDR." An editorial report on the latter article appears in JPRS 72410, 12 December 1978, No 1619 of this series, page 72.

The supplementary information provided in the current article is based on statistics on more recent birthrate trends for 1977 and can be outlined as follows:

- I. Factors in Birth Trends
- II. Changes in Generative Behavior
- III. Effects of Legal Measures on Birthrate Trends
- IV. Success of Population Policy

The article includes a total of 8 tables and graphs, some with data through 1978.

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STATUS OF CHURCH ASSESSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 100, 2 Jul 79 p 4

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Catholic Journal Evaluates Situation of Church as Favorable." A translation of the East Berlin BEGEGNUNG article referred to below follows this commentary]

[Text] The reality of religious life in the GDR is said to be "far more favorable" than pictured by many Western circles, declared the East Berlin Catholic journal BEGEGNUNG. Within congregations broad fields of activity are said to exist; between the religious instruction for children and the work of the circles for the aged there are said to extend the activities of many other congregation groups, circles and activities, "all of which can without interference from outside freely accomplish their ecclesiastical tasks." Large pilgrimages and processions, pastoral synods and congresses, a normal training for the clergy fully within the church's responsibility, and the activity of many religious orders are said to be proof of "a sphere of activity and freedom for the church," the like of which is not taken for granted everywhere. This, the journal adds, does not of course mean that "good things could not become even better." A "normalization" of ecclesiastical administration in the GDR by the elevation of the bishoprics of Erfurt-Meiningen, Magdeburg and Schwerin to canonically independent jurisdictions would "at the very least mean a legal improvement of the situation but could also have a beneficial effect on the further development of religious life."

Successful Development for Churches

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 19, No 6, Jun 79 pp 9-11

[Article by Hubertus Guske, editor-in-chief of BEGEGNUNG: "Positive Assessment Also Applies to the Church--Observation in the Thirtieth Year of the GDR's Existence." For translation of Guske's article referred to in parentheses at end of third paragraph below, see JPRS 73679, 13 Jun 79, No 1690 of this series, pp 71-77]

[Text] In the thirtieth year of the German Democratic Republic it is not only economy and culture, science and technology, education and social activity, society

and state that can look back on a successful development. The churches of our state are also direct or indirect participants in these successes. The more comprehensively the socialist society develops and stabilizes its material and spiritual foundations the more favorable the conditions for the fulfillment of the tasks of the churches. At least these are the lessons of the experiences of our last 30 years.

Aware of these connections millions of Christians in the GDR have participated in the shaping and development of the socialist working and living conditions and have thus contributed to the favorable development of society and the churches. In its constitution, its laws and its daily practice of an understanding attitude toward the churches the socialist state has established a framework that leaves a wide field for the activities of the Christians and churches of our republic. The churches on their part offer to the state not only the biblically mandated loyalty, but also trust and recognition, and in many social and political questions even support.

It is understandable that friction points cannot be completely avoided. Even in Western states that are often labeled "Christian" sharp conflicts sometimes develop between churches and governments. In a socialist state like the GDR, where material for social conflicts is virtually nonexistent and where the areas of friction are essentially reduced to questions of world view, differences of opinion between churches and state can either be eliminated or at least defused in open, trusting conversations. All the churches of the GDR have repeatedly expressed their appreciation for this opportunity for constant and fruitful dialog (see the article in Number 4/79: "State and Church in 30 Years of the GDR").

#### International Cooperation

Since the view of the Christian is by the very nature of his belief "catholic" and "ecumenical," i.e., encompassing, worldwide, international relations are of vital importance for the churches. The reformed churches of the GDR perceive their international centers to be the Ecumenical Council in Geneva, the world federations of the various churches, and the Conference of the European Churches. Within these federations the evangelical churches of the GDR perform an intensive and internationally recognized function. The socialist state supports this international religious activity not only by a generous issue of foreign travel permits but also by an active assistance in the organizing of international church conferences in the GDR. For the Catholic Church Rome is the center. And one who looks back on the last 30 years realizes that normal and intensive relations between the church of our republic and the Holy See have never been interrupted and never even threatened. Even in the relatively brief period from the end of the fifties to the beginning of the sixties, when the relations between church and state were very tense, the government showed no interest in interrupting administratively the connection to Rome. When the Second Vatican Council convened in 1962 the participation of all the bishops of the GDR was a matter of course. Today frequent travels of our bishops and other prelates to Rome



are just as much a part of the daily routine of the church as the participation of the representatives of our church in international conferences in other European and overseas countries. Professors of theology of the Erfurt Studium put in appearances at scholarly international meetings abroad, and sometimes their words there carry more weight than in their own national church.

#### GDR-Vatican Relations

Over and above guaranteeing normal relations between the church of the GDR and the Holy See the government of our republic also values its own good contacts to the Vatican, even though there are no formal diplomatic relations. Western mass media often interpreted contacts between Berlin and Rome as being only in the interests of the GDR; it was claimed that they were important only for political prestige reasons of our state. Such myopic points of view had to be given up at the latest in June 1975, when the that-time papal "foreign minister," Archbishop Casaroli, visited our country at the invitation of the GDR government. In the meantime the foreign minister of the GDR, Oskar Fischer, has been received by Pope John Paul II in a private audience only 6 days after the latter's investiture. Governmental delegations of the GDR last year participated in the burial and investiture ceremonies of popes. Messages were exchanged between the chairman of the state council, Erich Honecker, and the popes. In this connection the letter from John Paul II, expressing his conviction of the free activities of the church in the GDR, was received with particular attention.

All of this indicates that obviously both sides are interested in good relations between the GDR and the Vatican. Neither side is concerned with fruitless prestige reasons, rather mutual higher interests are in the foreground. Anyone who analyzes the mutual statements and who knows a little of the opinions of Vatican circles comes to the conclusion that the common denominator is above all the mutual interest in the furthering of detente and peace, as well as in the further development of the trusting relationship between church and state in the GDR. To reduce the Vatican's interest to purely ecclesiastical matters as has been often tried by Western commentators is erroneous if for no other reason than the fact that all substantive statements of the Holy See reject an ecclesiastical introversion in conformity with the Second Vatican Council. The church is not an end in itself, rather it has a divine mission oriented toward the real human being with his actual problems. And since humanity today is primarily concerned with the preservation of peace the service for peace will naturally remain one of the major tasks of the Holy See. In this basic question the interests of the Vatican and the GDR meet.

#### The Question of Church Boundaries

This point of view determines also the considerations for a further normalization of the church administration in the GDR. After the audience of Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer with Pope John Paul II Vatican observers stated that besides the problems of world peace and international cooperation the question of ecclesiastical boundaries in the GDR may also have been

discussed. The bulletin of the Wuerzburg bishopric (FRG) had this to say after the private papal audience for Oskar Fischer: "Surely the present canonical conditions in the GDR cannot be frozen for ever after. After the Vatican as early as 1973 installed apostolic administrators in the bezirks still belonging to West German bishoprics 1 day apostolic administrations will be created, something the bezirks are not yet." The Catholics in the GDR hope that the "1 day" lies in the not too distant future, because for them the conforming of the ecclesiastical boundaries to state borders is primarily a peace-securing contribution of the Holy See which could help in the rejection of revanchist claims and politically unrealistic dreamings of certain circles in the FRG.

From such a vantage-point--surely subscribed to also by the Vatican--speculations about a "do-ut-des-deal" (I give so that you will give) between Berlin and Rome seem erroneous. This refers to suggestions that the Vatican should normalize the ecclesiastical administration of our republic only in return for "reciprocal concessions." Such suggestions can obviously develop only in brains that do not recognize peace as a basis for life but want to reduce it into a bargaining point. And when the concession required is called "freedom for the church" then one must ask whether those who bring up questions like that have any basic information about the life of the church in the GDR. Perhaps they have become victims of the deeply regrettable statement of a high church prelate in the FRG who last year talked of a "fateful struggle for survival" of the church in the GDR. Such fateful untruth from an ecclesiastical mouth was of course eagerly seized upon by cold warriors.

#### The Favorable Reality of Church Life

The reality of religious life in our republic is far more favorable than described by many Western voices. Life in the parsonages is so broadly developed that many a clergyman in the larger congregations has difficulty in maintaining an overview. Between religious instruction for children and the work for the circles of the aged extends the work of many other congregation groups, circles and activities, all of which can without interference from outside freely accomplish their ecclesiastical tasks. In addition there is the intercongregational and interdiocese ministration to certain groups of believers. Charity work within congregations as well as at the vicarage and diocese level is well developed. Hundreds of church hospitals and nurseries for children and aged support in their fashion the social policy of the socialist state that in return grants these institutions considerable financial and material support.

Although we Catholics live here in the diaspora (not counting small "Catholic islands"), many hundreds of churches and chapels have been built since the founding of the GDR, and hundreds more have been restored or extended. Catholics living in the large new development areas will in the coming years obtain houses of worship or congregation centers. Also in the areas of ecclesiastical education and publishing many opportunities for public work are used; they extend, as is known, to regular morning services over the state radio. Large pilgrimages and processions, clergy synods and congresses,

a normal training for the clergy fully within the church's responsibility and the blessed work of many religious orders--this and much more bear witness to a field sphere of activity and freedom for the church in the GDR, the like of which is not taken for granted everywhere. From this consideration alone a "do ut des" between Rome and Berlin seems to lack an adequate basis.

This of course is not to say that good things cannot become even better. A normalization of the ecclesiastical administration in the GDR by the elevation of the bishoprics of Erfurt-Meiningen, Magdeburg and Schwerin to canonically independent--both personnel- and territorial-wise--jurisdictions (either to apostolic administrations or bishoprics), would at the least mean a legal improvement in the situation but could also have a favorable influence on the future development of church life. Such aspects have surely been exhaustively discussed between the Berlin conference of bishops and the Holy See, and one can assume that both sides are not overlooking the obvious favorable results of the Vatican's next step.

Thirty years after the founding of the GDR the Catholics in our country have in any case reason to be grateful. How often Western circles tried in the early years of the republic to raise the specter of persecution of Christians and suppression of the church! But the opposite has happened: Freedom for the church mission and for Christian life has not diminished, if anything it has become greater. This is also realized by church and society.

9240

CSO: 2300

## SPEAKERS CHIDED FOR LOOSE TALK ABOUT NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Budapest NEPSZBADASAG in Hungarian 15 Jul 79 p 3

[Editorial by Istvan Koncz: "Criticism and Action"]

[Text] A meeting between an author and his readers was organized recently in a small town in the Trans-Danubian Region. The talented author, justifiably respected for his works, met with the leaders and workers of socialist brigades. And as it often happens on such occasions, the topic of discussion soon shifted from literature to life and reality, i.e., to the country's situation, about which the eminent author expressed a rather condemning opinion already in his introduction. He lined up facts of common knowledge and unverifiable rumors, attributing equal authenticity to both. He lashed out against shortcomings, distortions and harmful social phenomena that actually exist in our country and which are criticized, no less severely, for example, in the public documents of the Party Central Committee or the National Assembly. In distinction from the author, however, these documents explore and illuminate also the possibilities for solving the given problems. But the author identified as the source of our troubles also factors that we justifiably regard as historical achievements, factors that belong among the pillars of our socialist system, and only our bourgeois critics and "advisers" strive to safeguard and divert us from them. In sum, his criticism was a mixture of truth and falsehood.

The author had expected his audience to respond to his "brave" criticism with applause and approval. But the workers did not agree with him in everything, argued with him and sometime—with all due respect, and perhaps with a slight degree of disrespect—interrupted him and shouted him down. They felt that this criticism was solely for effect. On other occasions these same workers may curse and swear upon encountering irregularities at their workplace or place of residence, in their narrower or wider environment, or perhaps nationally. But they have firm faith and confidence in the historical achievements, realizing that the problems can be solved solely on the basis of these achievements.

## Dissonant Voices

The described case is so common that it is hardly worth while to mention where it occurred or to name the author in question. One does not have to



attend cultural or political events to notice that lately a certain--what should we call it tactfully?--dissonant voice of social criticism has intensified in some circles in our country. It is unmistakably distinguishable in a significant proportion of the press reports, radio and television programs, books and films. But it would be unjust to attribute this only to intellectual activity and to a proportion of the intelligentsia working in these fields. Such voices can be heard more or less within every social stratum. The flood of confused criticism of this type, which mixes the true with the false and stems from uncertainty, may be encountered in numerous collective manifestations of everyday life, in the debating clubs, at work, as well as among friends.

The causes of such criticism are complex. Our present economic conditions, which are more difficult than previously, our pressing problems--these stem partially from external conditions beyond our control, from the still persisting burdens of our historical heritage, and partially from the inadequate effectiveness of our own work--obviously affect and interest everyone. The fact remains that for years we have been consuming more than what we have been producing; by international comparisons we have been living better than what the fruits of labor justify. Our party and government--true to their policy of frankness--have spoken of this openly. Public opinion, too, is mostly aware of this and of its consequences. For years we have been striving to end this contradiction by improving economic effectiveness and by raising productivity at a faster rate. However, we have been unable to achieve sufficient improvement to match the further deterioration of the external conditions. Thus these stresses in the economy have not subsided, rather we have become "accustomed" to them. But our becoming accustomed makes solution more difficult.

Criticism of the actual mistakes and omissions is necessary. Responsible criticism, in combination with effective action, strengthens the unity of our society, the harmony of efforts that is essential to management as well as to production. Complicated tasks can be solved only in an atmosphere of frank and sound criticism based on mutual trust, and with effective action. But the effect of "criticism" that mixes unsubstantiated facts with justifiable criticism, or which questions the basic principles of our socialist system, is the exact opposite: it fosters mistrust and uncertainty, offers false guidance, paralyzes action and hampers progress, thereby making the solution of our problems more difficult.

#### Behind the Mask

Incidentally, this latter type of confusion-causing social criticism is instigated also from abroad by bourgeois propaganda, with exceptional fervor, crudely or with calculated finesse, often interspersing the anti-communist, anti-socialist attacks with "praise" of dubious value.

Ideological struggle between the two world systems is relentlessly intense even under the conditions of political detente. (Fortunately--for us all, for mankind--this struggle is waged not with weapons of mass destruction,



rather with ideas and arguments.) Bourgeois ideology and propaganda are striving to hold up through increasingly angrier attacks the historically inevitable spreading of socialist ideas. Undeniably, these attacks have a variable effect on a proportion of our public opinion. However, the vast majority of the people are sufficiently mature politically to recognize the real motives of our bourgeois critics: behind this mask, bourgeoisie propaganda is trying to defend the system of capitalist exploitation.

But this periodically intensifying voice of social criticism has also its domestic, internal causes that stem from the relative development of social consciousness. These include, among other things, a peculiar psychosis. Criticism often is regarded as "brave" even in cases when it requires no special bravery. It is only necessary to aptly choose the environment in which such criticism is voiced. Through "skillful" juggling it is possible to line up together the true and the false. Some people regard such a person as brave, although he is not brave enough to review the facts and the tasks thoroughly and responsibly, and with such "bravery" he seeks to compensate real activity in public life.

#### Thankless Role Also Must Be Assumed

The dedicated supporters of socialism, particularly the Communists, often must assume a thankless role and unpopular task in the everyday and widespread major or minor political debates. Indeed, it is not always a popular task to prove with facts the soundness of our policy and line, to refute with arguments the unsubstantiated accusations, to assess the causes of our problems realistically, from a historical viewpoint and with an overview of the world economy, to understand the need for greater economy and belt-tightening, which might affect our living conditions.

Our task is complicated by the fact--and this actually is a good thing--that today in most cases we have to argue not with the class enemy (although the anti-communist arguments stem from there) but with persons who themselves owe practically everything to socialism: tolerable living conditions, human dignity, social advancement and--strangely enough--even this sense of "brave" criticism.

However, there is an exceptionally important condition for successfully defending our cause in these debates. Namely, we ourselves must be the foremost, major and most-consistent critics of the actually occurring mistakes, of the actually existing distortions; and we ourselves must be active participants in overcoming these mistakes and distortions, primarily in our own backyard.

We frequently encounter disorganization, procrastination that often delays implementation of party and government resolutions, bureaucratic red tape that hampers the unfolding and effective use of our material and intellectual capacities, poor workmanship and goldbricking, excessively widespread unlawful self-employment that undermines socialist production and is nicknamed "the second economy," the pursuit of unlawful advantages and dishonest

incomes, financial abuses that are against the law, and forms of conduct that violate "merely" our moral principles. A suitable critical mentality is necessary to overcome all these phenomena.

Admittedly, we cannot rid ourselves of these phenomena solely with words, solely with criticism or solely through administrative measures, because they have also an objective foundation. But specifically in this context it becomes clear how necessary it is to combat such phenomena also through relentless, uncompromising and responsible Communist criticism.

#### Prerequisite for Trust

We must clearly and decisively oppose the shortcomings and mistakes which I have briefly listed above, and which hurt us and not our enemies. We must not let the enemies of socialism use these mistakes and shortcomings as arguments with which to mislead a proportion of our public opinion. Responsible Communist criticism has also such a function, which is by no means negligible.

Thus when we emphasize the responsibility of social criticism, we do not wish to mute or silence the healthy, constructive and action-coupled criticism of the party organizations, of the Communists and of our nonmember allies, of people dedicated to socialism by conviction. To the contrary, we wish to encourage their criticism! Let us draw a sharp distinction between harmful denagogy and constructive criticism, rejecting the former and setting an example in the latter. This is an essential prerequisite for strengthening the trust that the overwhelming majority of the people have in the party, with which they support our policies, and which is the foundation for the solution of our problems, for the further socialist development of our society.

Our public opinion will certainly understand, although not gladly, the difficulties that we must endure because of the situation on the world market, due to the inherited structure of our economy or for other reasons beyond our control. But specifically in this situation, specifically amidst these difficulties, the subjective mistakes, omissions and possible abuses, the unearned incomes--in other words, the phenomena that we can remedy--become even more intolerable and striking than before. More accurately, these are the phenomena we can do something about. The ones that the party organizations must forcefully oppose within their own competence.

Within our society--just as at the meeting mentioned in the introduction--the majority consists of people willing to work tenaciously for the solution of our local and national problems and for developing further our socialist system. They are able to combat the existing shortcomings responsibly and effectively, and they are brave enough to shout down effect-seeking "social critics." For criticism is a double-edged weapon. Anyone using it irresponsibly could easily injure himself, his comrades and his own camp.

GOVERNMENT DECREES AFFIRMATIVE TYPE ACTION FOR GYPSIES

Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY in Hungarian No 47, 12 Jul 79 pp 683-684

[Resolution of the Council of Ministers No 1016/1979 (12 July) on Further Tasks in Conjunction With Improving the Gypsy Population's Situation]

[Text] The Council of Ministers approves the report on the situation of the Gypsies living in our country, on enhancing their social integration, and on the implementation of earlier resolutions related to these problems.

The Council of Ministers establishes that the central and local measures adopted to improve the Gypsy population's situation and to enhance its social integration have produced significant results, and that active support by society has played an outstanding role in this. To promote further progress, the Council of Ministers resolves the following:

1. a. Great care must be devoted also in the future to aid the employment of the Gypsy population of work age. The primary task is to keep Gypsies of work age permanently employed and to upgrade their skills. Enterprises, cooperatives and other economic organs must use their available material and moral incentives to help affiliate with permanent workplaces the workers of Gypsy extraction. Gypsy children who complete general school must be given encouragement and support to enroll in, respectively to gain admission to, institutes for apprentice training.
  - b. We must strive to achieve that more and more women, and youths of work age who are not continuing their studies, accept and obtain permanent employment. Job opportunities must be improved also in the villages, particularly in agricultural cooperatives, by making permanent employment and membership in the cooperatives possible.
  - c. Suitable Gypsies must be included in organized vocational and political training and further training at workplaces, whereby opportunities for advancement will be ensured for them. Provisions must be made to fill political, economic and social posts, at workplaces and in public life, with qualified workers of Gypsy extraction.
2. Further efforts must be made within the national housing-construction program, respectively within the opportunities provided by the Sixth Five-Year

Plan, to liquidate the Gypsy colonies that do not meet social requirements. The present system of liquidating colonies must be maintained in principle, but some of its provisions must be modified in accordance with the requirements of progress.

The councils must provide organized assistance for home construction in all instances when the owner is unable to undertake to build a home.

3. a. Further measures are necessary to raise the Gypsy population's cultural level and thereby to enhance its social integration.

b. In expanding the network of child-care institutions, special attention must be devoted to the colonies where there are many underprivileged children. Parents must be encouraged to place their children in child-care institutions (kindergartens and day nurseries). In accordance with the requirements, place must be provided for underprivileged Gypsy children even in cases when the mother--because of her large family--is not permanently employed. Where local conditions so warrant, it is justifiable to continue to maintain separate Gypsy classes, day-nursery groups and students' homes; but it must be ensured that the Gypsy children who already are able to participate in the work of the regular classes study together with the non-Gypsy children.

c. It is warranted to award welfare, public-guardianship-authority and educational aid to indigent minors and children who are continuing their education. Exceptionally, depending on the conduct of the parents, it may be expedient to remit such aid directly to the institutions concerned, to offset their costs.

The improper practice of exempting Gypsy children from compulsory school attendance must be terminated.

Gypsy children must be helped to complete their studies also through social cooperation, by organizing a network of sponsors.

d. Experiments in conjunction with the education and training of Gypsy children, and their results must be evaluated systematically. The methods that have proven suitable in practice must be generalized in kindergartens, schools and day nurseries. Teachers must be trained for this work through special courses. Children of preschool and school age whose native language is Romany must be taught so that they master also the Hungarian language as quickly as possible. Provisions must be made for the continuous practical application of research results in the educational and other sciences.

e. More assistance must be provided for talented and diligent Gypsy youths to enroll in and successfully complete university or college; ever more intellectuals of Gypsy extraction must cooperate in promoting the social integration of Gypsies.

f. In cooperation with the local social organs, more members of Gypsy extraction must be included in the committees concerned with the situation of



the Gypsy population, and there must be greater reliance on cooperation with such committees. To this end, such committees must be ensured suitable information and the necessary assistance.

g. In principle, also part-time education for the Gypsy population must be organized within the framework of the part-time educational opportunities and events. Parallel with spreading knowledge of Hungarian and of universal culture, opportunities must be provided to explore and foster positive Gypsy traditions. To this end, wherever a substantiated demand for this exists, it is necessary to support the work also of Gypsy cultural collectives (folklore ensembles, clubs, cultural groups, etc.), over and above the joint part-time educational opportunities and events.

4. Health-care and welfare services for the Gypsy population must be developed further. Obligatory public-health regulations (for example, inoculations, screenings) must be enforced consistently. Wherever persons of Gypsy extraction are living in large numbers, the public-health organs--in cooperation with the Red Cross and other social organizations--should establish networks of activists in which also Gypsies participate. Home nursing of the elderly sick, and the care of expectant mothers and infants must be organized.

5. The mass media should continue to help disperse the still existing prejudices. They should strive to present a realistic picture of the Gypsy population's situation, and to explore the progress in the Gypsy population's advancement, as well as the integrated stratum's efforts and achievements in building socialism.

6. The Council of Ministers requests the National Council of Trade Unions, the Communist Youth Federation, the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives, the National Council of Women, and the National Management of the Red Cross that they continue to aid the improvement of the Gypsy population's situation and its faster social integration, and that they cooperate in the implementation of the resolutions.

7. The present resolution becomes effective the day of its promulgation.

Signed: Gyorgy Lazar,  
Chairman of the Council of Ministers

1014  
CSO: 2500



SALT II SEEN AS LEGITIMIZING TRIDENT, ALCM PROGRAMS

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 9 Jul 79 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Pioro]

[Text] Several days ago a process of withdrawing a submarine fleet armed with Poseidon nuclear missiles from a U.S. naval base in Rota near Cadiz was completed. Each of the boats--which replaced the older Polaris units--carries 16 MIRVed nuclear missiles with a range of 5,000 km.

The U.S. Naval Command's relinquishment (although not complete, since Rota continues as a repair and supply center) of one of the most fully-equipped bases--which increased the striking power of the 2nd Fleet in the Atlantic and the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean--is not a result, in this case, of a policy to withdraw from foreign territories. The withdrawal of Poseidons from Spain is a consequence of expected changes in American naval strategy, introducing into service new nuclear Trident submarines which have 24 instead of 16 missile launchers, with a range twice as great as that of the Poseidon missiles. The "Ohio," the first unit of this type, was launched in April of this year, and several other units are in the final phase of construction. The range of these missiles allows relinquishment of European bases without changing "established goals" and strategic assumptions.

In order to clarify the essence of the problem, let us go slightly back in time.

Even before WW I Alfred Mahan, an American admiral and distinguished theorist in the field of marine warfare, published a fundamental work entitled NAVAL STRATEGY which embraced a concept of American expansionism: Controlling the seas as a means of becoming the greatest power in the world. Within a few years another theorist, General William Mitchell, ascribed to air space the leading role which Mahan reserved for the seas and oceans, moving the development of the U.S. Air Force to the foreground.

The formation of a global strategy for the United States was based on Mahan's naval theory and Mitchell's air theory. Contemporary American warfare doctrine finds in the works of these two authors, if not political, then at least military and technical justification.

An essential principle, in fact, of American strategy, regardless of the time needed for its formulation, is protecting U.S. territory from the danger of war, keeping warfare operations as far from the national boundaries as possible.

"It is obvious," wrote an American military theorist, H. Baldwin in 1970, "that each warfare strategy which we accept should be governed by one fundamental goal: To protect the United States from war. In other words, in the future as in the past we must strive to keep warfare operations as far from our boundaries as possible, conduct them in the seas and air, or on other continents."

At the end of March of last year Mr Carter revealed a new plan for development of U.S. naval forces for the fiscal period 1979-83. "It is an efficient and realistic plan," wrote Defense Secretary Harold Brown to the speaker of the house, submitting this document for debate in Congress. This "efficient and realistic plan" is a fulfillment of a concept of transferring some strategic nuclear arms to the sea and oceans. Included are not only submarine launchers for intercontinental missiles, but also aircraft carriers which in turn are themselves carriers of missiles with nuclear warheads. They are supplemented by cruise missiles with a range of 1,500-2,000 km capable of hitting the target with exceptionally great precision and carried by long-range bombers.

Realization of this program was undertaken already during the Nixon administration and continued into the Ford administration with an intent to complete the formation of "strategic forces of the 21st century during the 1990's." When Mr Carter took over the presidency everything was already in full progress and corrections which had to be made consisted only of technical improvements of the system rather than its alterations.

The long-range plans for expanding military potential and improving the organization of military forces, defining the policy of military alliances as well as establishing the direction of the development of the war industry and construction of basic weapons often for several years in the future and sometimes for decades, are all, as a rule, subordinate to doctrine and strategic concepts. Implementing significant changes in the conglomerate which military activity comprises is an extremely difficult, expensive and time-consuming process.

In addition, each of the presidents, regardless of his own personal views, deals with situations which cannot be changed even over a period of several presidential terms. A White House candidate can only hope that circumstances which do not suit him or promote his concepts will change. Until this happens he must accept reality and adjust accordingly.

Furthermore, one should take into consideration the fact that when an administration intervenes in the Pentagon's authority, the Pentagon intervenes in the authority of the administration. This takes place through immediate or short-termed pressure on the decisions of the House of Representatives and the Senate, by using the tremendous influence of companies and firms engaged in production of weapons as well as those political groups which are not interested in promoting detente. This friction between two currents--political and military--creates additional complications for modifying the arms policy of the United States.

The SALT II agreement signed in Vienna contains quantitative limitations of nuclear weapons for both sides as well as certain limitations in quality. In terms of submarine-launched ballistic missile systems, the number of warheads carried by each missile cannot exceed 14, and strategic bombers cannot be equipped with more than 20 cruise missiles. This is precisely the number of cruise missiles which will be carried by a heavy bomber adapted for this purpose. Therefore, the grand plan for the development of U.S. strategic forces is being retained in principle.

Maybe those in the United States who oppose the SALT II agreement should take into consideration the fact, that the present state of arms determined for the next several years not only does not "threaten" the power of the United States but in fact sanctions it. And only by the complete destruction of existing weapon supplies and terminating their production--which is the intent of Soviet policy--can the threat of a nuclear war be truly obviated.

9121

CSO: 2600

MILITARY COMMENTATOR VIEWS SALT VERIFICATION METHODS

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 18 Jul 79 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Pioro]

[Text] "With the aim of guaranteeing compliance with treaty provisions, each side will use the national technical means of verification at its disposal in a way which conforms to generally accepted principles of international law." So reads paragraph 1, article XV of the treaty signed in Vienna on the limiting of strategic weapons.

What does this provision mean and what is its real essence? Let us try to answer this question in a general outline.

As the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute informs us, approximately 75 percent of the total number of satellites positioned in Earth orbit can serve military purposes. The countries which are sending them up use a wide variety of satellites ranging in purpose from reconnaissance, navigation, strategic communications, early detection and warning, and meteorological research right up to anti-satellite systems (a topic which was taken up last year during Soviet-American talks). Other satellites serve ocean navigation and air traffic control. And there are also those whose mission is unknown.

The majority of military information being received by the United States is sent via satellite. Precise navigational data for long range bombers, ICBM's, and submarines are being relayed through them. Satellites can "direct" experimental missiles and provide information on their trajectory and accuracy of impact.

Here, however, we shall concern ourselves, above all, with surveillance satellites equipped with cameras. This system has been acknowledged by the SALT signatories as sufficient for monitoring the treaty and for substantiating possible charges of treaty violations.

Enormous progress has been made in the design of super wide-angle lenses which sweep significant areas of the Earth. Light properties have been

obtained even at night. Automatically self-adjusting systems make it possible to achieve the best image under existing atmospheric conditions (automatic exposure, automatic filter selection, automatic adjustment of focal length, image blur compensation). The cameras have been designed with devices which develop the exposed film on board the satellite and send down the ready photographic image to the recipient.

At the same time, progress in photographic chemistry has made it possible to produce substances with high light sensitivity and, most important, with exceptionally high resolution. This is synonymous with an increase in the potential for recording photographic details of an object and, in turn, with enlarging the information capacity of the photograph. Photographic systems make it possible to obtain pictures with a resolution of 200 (and more) lines per millimeter, which on a 30 x 30 picture enables the recording of over 3.5 million points on a single photograph. (By way of comparison, a television picture has a resolution of 625 lines on the entire screen, so for simplification one can assume that the number of individually recorded points on it is no more than  $625^2$  ( $625 \times 625$ ), i.e., not quite 0.4 million points). Therefore, the enormous photographic capacity mentioned above for retentive recording of details on the Earth's surface may be thought of as a particular type of memory which, as regards capacity, could rival that of a computer.

Obviously, a special competence and appropriate enlarging equipment are necessary for reading such photographs. Automatic readers are also used which make near real-time reconnaissance of individual objects possible. The storage of an enormous quantity of pictures in libraries is also essential so as to be able to compare the present with the past. All of this has been carried out with such precision that not a single corner of the globe can remain secret from the penetrating eye of the space apparatus.

Satellite photography and the relay of the picture using television systems is not the only means of monitoring what is happening on the Earth. Powerful ground radar stations, raised to considerable heights, enable surveillance at a distance of about 5,000 kilometers. But already being considered--and it is entirely probable--is the positioning of orbiting radars and large electronic installations, whose horizon, unlike that of land-based equipment, would be unlimited. Also, a system of electronic monitoring stations which detect a rocket launch or test launches serves military objectives. The Americans installed such equipment in Iran and it was with considerable regret that they had to remove it following the change of government in that country. (Americans are currently conducting negotiations with Norway, where they would like to deploy the monitoring stations which were removed.)

In all, there exist several possibilities for establishing that an ICBM has been launched and for observing its flight results. Nevertheless, determining the operational readiness level of ICBM's continues to be difficult, as is determining the number of warheads with which they are armed. The currently available system of verification still gives no guarantee of detecting all cases of violations but, taken as a whole, it is sufficient to guarantee that any undetected violations would not be big enough to have military significance.



It is more difficult to detect submarines armed with nuclear missiles but important advances have been made in this area.

At the beginning of 1975, the American Agency for Scientific Research Development announced the development of a program called Seaguard, whose purpose is oceanwide detection of submarines. The system is based on the principle of hydroacoustics and is comprised of a link-up of fixed (on land or anchored at sea) and mobile sensing systems with a network of data processing computers. This system, which is to put into operation in the early 1980's is supposed to fix, with a high degree of accuracy, the position of even very quiet submarines by picking up the so-called cavitation noises sent out during their movement.

There can be no doubt that a similar system is being developed in the Soviet Union.

CSO: 2600

## ANTI-SOVIET DEMONSTRATION COMMEMORATES WARSAW INSURRECTION

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 2 Aug 79 p 1

[Text] The day before yesterday, on the eve of [the anniversary of] the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising, a mass anti-Soviet demonstration organized by one of the factions of the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights [ROPCO] took place in the Saxon Square (now Victory Square) in Warsaw; several thousand people took part.

Wreaths were laid on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Several people spoke, including, according to initial unconfirmed reports, the ROPCO activist, Wojciech Ziebinski.

The speeches had a decidedly anti-Soviet character. They were greeted with cheers and shouts on the part of the crowd.

One of the speakers demanded from the regime that it return to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier the plaques referring to the battles and victories of the Polish soldier during the World War I, especially in the war with the Bolsheviks. He expressed his view that the plaques had been removed by unworthy hands.

In another speech it was emphasized that the Armia Krajowa (Home Army) had fought with two occupiers, after which the speaker read the full text of the last order of the last commander of the Armia Krajowa, General Okulicki, and recalled that he was deceitfully summoned to Moscow and there murdered.

In his last order, dated 19 January 1945, General Okulicki called for a further struggle with both occupiers for the full independence of Poland. The demonstrators assembled in the Saxon Square greeted the reading of this order with a hurricane of clapping and shouting.

The demonstrations in the Saxon Square took place without any interference from the militia, perhaps because the authorities were surprised. As it seems no one expected it. Bavarian television was the first to give news about the demonstration. BBC and Radio Free Europe gave information about it later.

As of yesterday afternoon no information about any repressions on the part of the regime had reached London.

CSO: 2600

LUKASZEWICZ HAILS PZPR ACHIEVEMENTS, SOVIET ALLIANCE

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 79 Morning Edition p 5 LD

[Article by Jerzy Lukaszewicz, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee: "Following a Tried and Tested Course"; under general heading "The Polish People's Republic Is 35 Years Old"]

[Excerpt] The seventies occupy a special place in modern Polish history. The socioeconomic development strategy worked out at the sixth and seventh PZPR congresses and aimed at accelerating the growth rate of economic potential and the people's living standards resulted in remarkable achievements and created the conditions for building an advanced socialist society in Poland. The two-thirds increase in the national income during those years, the rebuilding and modernization of the majority of both light and heavy industrial enterprises and the creation of new scientific and industrial centers and combines, including the Katowice Foundry, built in close collaboration with the Soviet Union, are a demonstration of the successes achieved by following that path and of the scale of the tasks being tackled in the present decade.

All these successes were made possible by the consistent implementation of such basic preconditions for socialism as building a just society, raising working people's living standards, satisfying their spiritual and material needs increasingly fully and insuring the all-around development of the individual. The enormous potential which the country has accumulated in the economy, science and culture enables it to advance further in socioeconomic development under the program to be outlined at the Eighth PZPR Congress,

When determining the new tasks we will take as our point of departure the vital preconditions which made possible the achievements of people's Poland. The experience accumulated is a vindication of the vitality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and of the universal significance of the general laws of socialist building, first put into practice by the CPSU and creatively implemented in every socialist country, with due regard for its specific internal features. This is our contribution to the great cause of strengthening the forces of socialism in the world arena.

Our unity and cooperation in various spheres of socialist building were reaffirmed at the conference of socialist country communist and workers party Central Committee secretaries recently held in Berlin to discuss international and ideological questions. The decisions adopted at the conference are aimed at still further intensifying the struggle for peace and social progress.

In Polish history there has never been a political force able to implement the principles it proclaimed with such consistency as the PZPR. Our party became such a force when it succeeded in winning the people's support, rousing their creative abilities and aspirations and channeling them into the development of the whole society and of each individual. It united and led Poland's workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia in the great work of building socialism.

The unity of the masses, rallied round the party and forming the national unity front, led Poland to prosperity and vindicated the Polish communists' policy, which made it possible to insure the country's security. When you consider the experience of World War II it is easy to understand how important this factor is to every Pole,

"In the lives of states and peoples," PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Edward Gierek said, "there is nothing more important than security. It is the cornerstone of their existence. All our experience teaches us that the most reliable basis for national security is internal strength, whose characteristic features are a progressive social system with a high level of economic and social development, and a system of alliances in the country's interests which insure that the state has firm positions in the international arena.

"We have been building both these national security bases persistently and consistently throughout the past 35 years."

The alliance between Poland and the USSR has an exceptionally important place in the history of people's Poland. Were it not for the Soviet Union's victory over Hitlerism, the building of the new Poland and the very existence of the Polish people, condemned by fascism to physical annihilation, would have been impossible. The combat comradeship-in-arms of Polish and Soviet soldiers and the undying memory of those Soviet soldiers who gave their lives to free Poland are the foundation of the indissoluble friendship between our peoples.

During the first days of the existence of people's Poland the historic July manifesto proclaimed: "The friendship and combat cooperation begun by the combat fraternity in arms of the Polish and Red Army forces must develop into a firm alliance and good-neighborly cooperation after the war." Today we can say that that historic precept was fully realized. The might and prosperity of people's Poland were increased as a result of the development and deepening of friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist communist countries.

"The socialist community," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said at the Seventh PZPR Congress, "is a completely new kind of alliance. Based on more than just the common interests of a group of countries, it is a fraternal family of peoples led by Marxist-Leninist parties and held together by a common view of the world, by common lofty goals and by relations of comradely solidarity and mutual support. It is an alliance based on a permanent unity of position and action which gives additional strength to each of its members in the solution of national tasks and increases many times over their combined prestige and influence on world affairs."

The PZPR shares this view completely. We realize the enormous and truly fundamental importance which this new kind of alliance has had and continues to have for the realization of our programs. Thanks to this alliance we were helped to restore a Poland ravaged by Hitler and to increase its economic potential. Thanks to it we have been living and building a new life under peaceful skies for three and a half decades.

The cooperation between the CPSU and the PZPR and the close dealings between their Central Committees are of particular importance to the strengthening of Polish-Soviet friendship. The friendly meetings and talks between the leaders of our parties and peoples--Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and Edward Gierek--are an expression of common positions on the solution of communist and socialist building tasks and on the formulation of a strategy of struggle for peace, international detente and social progress. Those common positions are vividly embodied in the close cooperation between our countries in the economy, science and culture, in the exchange of accumulated experience and achievements, in foreign policy activity, and in the Soviet Union and Poland's peace initiatives, which have the support of all the socialist community countries and the entire progressive world public.

Poland welcomed the signing of the SALT II treaty by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, architect of the Soviet peace program, and U.S. President J. Carter with tremendous satisfaction. This is an event of lasting importance for the strengthening of peace on earth and for achieving a goal for which the Polish people have never stinted their strength or energy.

The 35th anniversary of people's Poland is a holiday for all Poles. As they celebrate it, Poland's working people are summing up what has been done and turning their thoughts to the tasks of the very near future and to the problems still to be solved. Led by a Marxist-Leninist party, inspired by a patriotic desire to increase the country's might, and true to the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation with all countries, the Polish people salute their socialist fatherland's glorious jubilee with selfless labor.



## UNITED STATES SCORED FOR PINCHING PENNIES ON SPACE EXPLORATION

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 30, 28 Jul 79 p 16

[Article by Maciej Ilowiecki]

[Excerpts] "One small step for man, one great leap for mankind," cried out Neil Armstrong at the moment when he jumped from the last step of the lunar lander "Eagle" onto the Moon's Sea of Tranquillity. Actually, nobody accurately heard these words and the computers in Houston also did not record them clearly. Accuracy is not the point here: that was supposed to be the gist of what Armstrong cried out, and this was the sense of the Apollo 11 expedition.

On 20 July 1969 the "Eagle" settled on the moon and on 21 July Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin left the ship; Michael Collins, orbiting around the silvery orb alone, backed them up. Today, exactly 10 years after the landing of the first man on the moon, the memory of this great event has faded, as it were; it seems that all this happened not a decade, but several decades ago.

Ten years after the Apollo 11 expedition we look differently upon astronautics and perhaps expect different things from it. Precisely on 15 July 1979 Vladimir Lachov and Valery Riumin beat the world and the Soviet record for endurance in outer space. The bearing of the record, however, is the least important issue; the most important point is the exceptionally significant results for science and technology from the experiments in the space laboratory. Their practical consequences will certainly be very interesting. The American inter-planetary probe, Voyager 2, has passed Jupiter and will dash by Saturn. The information supplied by it show the real and altogether unusual visage of the largest and strangest planet in the solar system and of its no less strange satellites.

The Americans, however, have lost their enthusiasm for astronautics. They cancelled the planned manned missions to Mars and Venus. It is difficult to grasp why a nation which hitherto has understood so well what damage is most frequently done by the mechanical savings made by bureaucrats in science, agreed to a drastic cut of NASA funds, which forced it to discontinue experiments which had already been begun. The result is rather easy

to foresee: the orbital station "Skylab," deprived of an additional engine for the sake of "savings," has not carried out its mission, about a billion dollars have sunk in the ocean, and the premature fall of the station could have brought countless troubles. The Apollo mission cost 25 billion dollars, maintaining communications with the equipment placed on the moon cost millions. It was decided that this is too expensive, and in 1977 communications were broken off. The stream of information stopped flowing to earth from the still functioning station. Today it seems that the costs of the savings will be tremendous, to say nothing of what we will not find out about the moon.

CSO: 2600

## PROSPECTS FOR PRC'S 'FOUR MODERNIZATIONS' EXAMINED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 14-15 Jul 79 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Pioro: "Zigzags of Chinese 'Leaps'"]

[Text] An event of a magnitude befitting a nation of one billion people was the publishing of statistical data in China for the first time in 20 years. We learned from the data that in 1978 China's population together with that of Taiwan amounted to 975,230,000 persons (without Taiwan--957.5 million), and that anticipated expenditures for defense in 1979 exceed 20 billion yuan, 18 percent of the country's budget.

It is impossible, however, to comprehend staff changes from the statistical data. These occur so frequently in Beijing that by the time information about them gets to the public they are already out of date.

This is a symptomatic indication of the zigzag road where ideological imperative began to yield to pragmatic commands that are to lead China out of its scientific and technical backwardness. But the Chinese economy will have to be lifting itself a long, long time out of those catastrophic experiences which the Maoist "Great Leap" carried with it. The then dominant slogan..."rely on one's own resources" which expressed a characteristic power of determination, in reality was an escape from the existing internal situation, which grew worse from year to year in all fields and in the end brought China into the chaos of the cultural revolution.

The program of the "Four Modernizations" which arose as a result of the "old" Premier Zhuo Enlai's initiative, and which expanded by the new leadership, was, by the year 2,000 to usher Chinese science, industry, agriculture and military potential into the ranks of world leaders, also assumed a "leap" in all of the fields named. Linked with demaoization, something that signified a departure from many canons of faith, it was to have decreased the gulf between possibilities and creative forces, to convert small producer methods of production into a modern economic system, including its entire essentially feudal administrative superstructure. This undertaking was accompanied by a big political campaign which was unleashed by the new authorities comprised of old, slighted-in-their time

Mao collaborators. The authorities had in mind above all the strengthening of control over the entire apparatus, and carrying into effect a new, not yet clearly formulated idea that the motive power of development and progress was not so much Mao's "thoughts" as practical action in all fields of the people's and the state's functioning. Turning to the West was the radical step which was to assure the realization of great plans.

It became evident very quickly how great is the distance between matter and spirit and how far removed was potential from intention. The first phase of the "Four Modernizations" planned for 20 years, required--when calculated without any propaganda euphoria--obtaining loans amounting to 300 billion dollars. China's leaders quickly became aware that such a possibility had no chance: The impetus for the succeeding "big leap" was too great just as it had been in the preceding one.

For the West, choking in a surfeit of material goods, the Chinese market is no doubt very attractive. Large firms are interested no end in the supplies of finished products and the exploitation of basic Chinese raw materials--petroleum and coal. However, there is a limit to capital's involvement--payment capability and a definite margin balance between import and export. Although various countries, primarily Japan and the United States, have offered billion dollar credits to China, they constitute but a small portion of the 300 billion dollars for 20 years mentioned. China has neither a sufficient supply of hard currency, or the kind of possibilities of earning it with which to pay for all of the goods it would like to obtain abroad. Beijing's hard currency reserves in western trade banks at the end of 1977 amounted (according to most sources) to 2.15 billion dollars, together with about 500 tons of gold on deposit in the West worth more than 2 billion dollars. These reserves are smaller than India's and not much bigger than those of South Korea. What is more, if Beijing were to begin to realize its program which anticipates an annual expenditure of 75 billion dollars, the reserves would hardly be sufficient for a couple of months.

It also turned out that China has a rather limited capability for exploiting its supplies of raw materials and their export in order to pay foreign suppliers. Neither rice, nor mao tai (Chinese whiskey) will suffice for this. The economic goals defined by Hua Guofeng last year, such as the production of 400 million tons of grain and 60 million tons of steel in the year 1985, not to say anything of catching up to the world's top level by the end of the century, turned out to be unrealistic. They were judged to be overly ambitious and the necessity for their basic overhaul was recognized.

Western Europe's trade with China is still rather small. In the last 5 years less than 1 percent of Common Market country export was directed to China, and China will probably remain a limited export market for Europe for the next few years. The just concluded 3-year trade agreement between the United States and China likewise does not portend a radical breakthrough (at least in the area of trade) although it paves the way for the Chinese

side to obtain a most-favored treatment clause (a substantial decrease in import duties) for exports to the United States. During the past year, trade between China and the United States amounted to 1.1 billion dollars, which even with a manifold increase will, for such a country like China, be a proverbial drop in an ocean of needs.

"Make haste slowly"--that is the new trend which currently stipulates a systematic and proportionate development consistent with economic laws, condemns all spurts and aims to ever more clearly link the planned economy with the market economy. China's leaders, although directing a huge backward and politically unstable country with great possibilities at their disposal, themselves admit that under the present circumstances they are in no condition to undertake precise planning decisions for a period longer than one year.

The extensive changes which have taken place in China's internal life in the course of recent years can without any doubt be treated as an "easing of course," a liberalization encompassing almost all areas of social life, a conversion--although occurring very slowly--to a more pragmatic resolution of economic and social problems. Debate continues, however, in the political-ideological area, and various schools sometimes representing extremist tendencies take part in it. An evaluation of Mao's political heritage, which it was wanted to defer until later in order to protect the regime's stability and unity," is today a focal point of conflicts and it is precisely on that point most difficult to attain unanimity on the ideological as well as political and economic level.

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CSO: 2600



## JEWISH PAPER COVERS U.S. VISIT OF INTERFAITH DELEGATION

[Editorial Report] The 1 July 1979 issue of REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC, Bucharest, the biweekly organ of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romanian, pages 1, 6 and 7, gives extensive coverage to the visit of a Romanian ecumenical religious delegation to the United States from 3 to 17 June, upon invitation of the "Appeal of Conscience" Foundation, including a photo of Romanian Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen and the representative of the Bucharest Moslem community, Imam Regep Salih, with UN Ambassador Andrew Young and Rabbi Arthur Schneier, the president of the "Appeal of Conscience" Foundation and a photograph of the Romanian delegation at a press conference in New York.

The other members of the delegation were Archbishop Nicolae Corneanu, metropolitan of Banat; Bishop Antonie Plamadeala-Ploiestanu, bishop vicar of the Patriarchate, representing the Romanian Orthodox Church; Dr Albert Klein, bishop of the Sibiu Evangelical C. A. [Lutheran] Church; Dr Lajos Kovacs, bishop of the Unitarian Church; Monsignor Petru Gherghel, pro-vicar general of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest; Ion Bunaciu, director of the Baptist Theological Seminary in Bucharest, and Nicolae Mihaita, translator. The paper publishes excerpts from the speeches and sermons given by Rabbi Rosen during the trip at various events and places, including: the Park East Synagogue in New York, Fordham University, the World Jewish Congress, the United Nations, the State Department, Bnai Brith headquarters in Washington, and the headquarters of the Greek Orthodox and Armenian archdioceses.

The paper gives the following excerpts from Rabbi Rosen's speech at the dinner given by the "Appeal of Conscience" Foundation: "You have spoken so impressively about 'human rights', Ambassador Young, about the rights of man which are so precious. The spokesman for a religion and a community which in the past was dispossessed of the most basic human rights and which regained them under the socialist regime of Romania is speaking to you. 'Human rights' means the right of every people, large or small, to its own existence. Under the same socialist regime, more than 300,000 Jews in Romania regained the opportunity to rebuild the Holy Land and to assure the existence of the Jewish people in Israel. Blessed be those who have returned to us the basic 'human rights.'"

# VIEWS OF FOREIGN RESEARCHERS ON MOLDAVIAN HISTORY REFUTED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 20 Jul 79 pp 52-54

[Article by Liviu Marcu: "Pages From the History of Moldavia"]

[Excerpts] Recent research in the domain of national history has brought forth a number of aspects of major importance such as the presence and the worth of the Romanian indigenous civilization in the Carpathian-Danubian area, the struggle of the Romanian people to maintain this civilization, the ascending character of the development of Romanian society under all its aspects as well as its organic unity in the entire ancient Gbeto-Dacian land. The ten volumes of the treatise of history of Romania, which is being compiled and published, as well as the "branch" treatises will provide this image with documents and conclusions of first class quality.

The work of N. Grigoras devoted to the history of Moldavia from the time of its founding up to Stefan the Great is one of the works preceeding this great national work. [Footnote: "N. Grigoras, Tara Romaneasca a Moldovei pina la Stefan cel Mare (The Romanian Country of Moldavia up to Stefan the Great.- 1359-1457)," "Junimea" Publishing House, Iasi, 1978.]

The work of the Iasi professor, a specialist in the history of medieval institutions--is noteworthy because of the pertinent character of its arguments and formulations. The seniority and persistence of the Daco-Roman element east of the Carpathians has not ceased to be a subject of discussion as a result of the remarkable findings of our archeologists and historians.

In this context, the hypothesis formulated by some researchers abroad--that there was no distinct Romance population of Daco-Romans which developed independently east of the Carpathians--appears not only devoid of any scientific basis but also contrary to logic, since there was no other Romanized population north of the Danube besides the Dacians and the recognition of a Romanized population in this region means, implicitly, the acknowledgement of its Daco-Roman character.

The lack of substance of this hypothesis is demonstrated in the book of N. Grigoras who states that "the Slavs, the Byzantines, and the Germans, who knew the Romanians as one people, did not call them Romanians but called them

'valahi', 'vlahi', 'volohi', 'vlasî', 'blaci, and 'voloszyna'--a term which, in general, the Romanians used for the Romanized populations". The entire territory inhabited by the Romanians was called 'Vlahia' or 'Valahia' and, as a result, this name was also given to Moldavia, since it was inhabited by the same people. The name 'volohi' does not mean another people--as some are trying to prove--but is a form of 'valahi', that is, Romanians, and the name of Moldavia is connected with a certain region, like the river with the same name, and not with a distinct population.

The inhabitants of the Romanian state east of the Carpathians, known in the Middle Ages, were Vlachs, that is Romanians, an inextricably component part of the same single people--the Romanina people--who inhabited the entire ancient Daco-Getic territory. Their country was called Moldovlahia (the Romanian Country of Moldavia), Maurovlahia (Moldo-Romania), Valahia minor (Small Romania), Valachia maior (Large Romania), Valachia (Romania) or, between 1395 and 1401, Ruso-vlahia (Romania from Russians), a name given by the Patriarchy of Constantinople, and Ungro-Vlahia (Romania from Hungarians) for Wallachia but the name of Moldovlahia was imposed. In the second half of the 14th century, the papal chancery and the Polish chancery called the East Carpathian region Valachia.

Narrative sources are unanimous in mentioning the existence of the same people on the territory of what was once Dacia, speaking the same language and bearing the same name. "The conclusion which results", the author says in his preface, "is that the most appropriate name for the state established east of the Carpathians is the Romanian Country of Moldavia and in every text in which the term 'valah', in the variants mentioned, is found, it should be translated 'Romanian'".

CSO: 2700

## YUGOSLAVIA

### TEXT OF LAW ON ASSOCIATION OF ARMAMENT MANUFACTURERS

Belgrade SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 25, 1 Jun 79 pp 785-787

[Text of Law on Association of Armament and military Equipment Industry of Yugoslavia]

#### [Text] Article 1

In order to insure uniformity of the system of work in the area of production of armaments and military equipment, and in order to realize a special social interest in this area, the organizations of associated labor which produce armaments and military equipment and the Federal Directorate for Transportation and Reserve Products (henceforth "members"), are associating into the association of industry of armaments and military equipment of Yugoslavia (henceforth "INVQJ Association"), according to the stipulations of this law.

#### Article 2

By the uniform system of work in the area of production of armaments and military equipment, according to this law, is understood the uniform technical-technological system which insures the coordination of interest and mutual dependence and interrelation of the organizations of associated labor which produce armaments and military equipment in the process of producing armaments and military equipment and the optimal utilization of the capacities for producing armaments and military equipment throughout the entire territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in order to equip the armed forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and also to satisfy other needs of people's defense with armaments and military equipment of domestic production.

#### Article 3

The INVQJ Association mandatorily includes those work organizations which, according to federal law, the Federal Executive<sup>11</sup> designates as organizations of associated labor producing armaments and military equipment.

The rights, duties and responsibilities which are a result of this law and the self-managing general acts provided for by this law also pertain to the basic organizations of associated labor which produce armaments and military equipment and which are associated in the type of work organization stipulated in paragraph 1 of this article.

In order to realize mandatory cooperation and association with foreign trade activity in armament and military equipment in the activities of the organizations of associated labor specified in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article, the Federal Directorate for Transportation and Reserve Products with for Special Purposes will join the INVOJ Association.

#### Article 4

The organizations of associated labor producing armaments and military equipment on the basis of long-term contracts with the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, or on the basis of long-term cooperation with organizations of associated labor specified in Article 3 of this law may join the INVOJ Association, with the stipulations and conditions established by the self-managing agreement on association into the INVOJ Association, with the concurrence of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

#### Article 5

The INVOJ Association will join the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia and will hold the position of general association.

The business of general association will, in accordance with the federal law regulating the association of organizations of associated labor into general association and the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, be conducted by the INVOJ Association. The organizations of associated labor specified in Article 3 of this law will be associated with the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia via the INVOJ Association.

#### Article 6

In order to realize the goals in Article 1 of this law, the INVOJ Association members will:

1. participate in the concluding of agreements regarding the fundamentals of the social plan of Yugoslavia in the area of production of armaments and military equipment; conclude a self-managing agreement regarding the fundamentals of a joint plan for producing armaments and military equipment, the conclusion of joint plans for the production of specific groups of armaments and



military equipment and will coordinate their plans for the production of armaments and military equipment;

2. participate, with the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, in the formulation of the program for building, modernization, reconstruction, maintenance and utilization of the armament and military equipment production capabilities;

3. coordinate their mutual relations and confirm joint positions regarding production and program orientation in regard to research, development and production of armaments and military equipment, and will submit proposals and opinions regarding the distribution or changes in distribution of production and program orientation to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense;

4. will insure, and take measures to that effect, for a timely, qualitative and rational execution of obligations from the contract on production and transportation of armaments and military equipment;

6. will manage the resources which are mandatorily or in some other fashion associated with the INVQJ Association;

7. will participate with the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the federal organ responsible for prices and regulation of relations in the area of prices of armaments and military equipment, follow and analyze the conditions for earning and the socio-economic position of the organizations of associated labor which produce armaments and military equipment, and will put in motion initiatives for establishing regulations and measures which will influence the advancement of work and business in this area;

8. will start initiatives and organize social agreement and self-managing accord regarding questions of general social- or common interest for the participants in the areas of production and transportation of armaments and military equipment, and will analyze the implementation and realization of concluded social agreements and self-managing accords;

9. will coordinate mutual relationships and interests in the foreign trade of armaments and military equipment and, along with the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, will participate in creating program for the exports of armaments and military equipment and will undertake measures for their realization;

10. will also perform other jobs and tasks decreed by the federal law, i.e., jobs and tasks established by the members through a self-managing agreement of joining the INVQJ Association.

#### Article 7

In order to realize the goals specified in Article 1 of this law in the area of production and transportation of armaments and military equipment, the members, in the framework of the INVOJ Association, will cooperate with the responsible organs in the federation, the republics, the autonomous provinces, and the opstinas, as well as with the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, the sociopolitical organizations and other self-managing organizations and associations.

#### Article 8

The INVOJ Association will realize work uniformity and a special social interest in the area of production and transportation of armaments and military equipment under the conditions and in the manner established by this and other federal laws and the self-managing general acts of the INVOJ Association.

#### Article 9

The INVOJ Association is a legal person, with the rights, obligations and responsibilities which it has according to the SFRY Constitution, the federal law and the self-managing agreement on joining the INVOJ Association.

The headquarters of the INVOJ Association is in Belgrade.

#### Article 10

The INVOJ Association will be governed by the members according to the principles of the delegate system.

The delegates will be delegated into the managing organs of the INVOJ Association by the workers in the basic organizations of associated labor which produce armaments and military equipment, in a manner established by the self-managing agreement on joining the INVOJ Association.

The mutual relations between the members in the INVOJ Association will be regulated by the self-managing agreement on joining the INVOJ Association and other self-managing general acts of the INVOJ Association which must be in accordance with the self-managing agreement on joining the INVOJ Association and the law.

#### Article 11

Through the self-managing agreement on joining the INVOJ Association, the members will regulate mutual relationships in regard to association

and the means of realizing the goals of the association; will establish the INVOJ Association organs and their sphere of activity and the election and recalling of the members of these organs; will regulate the actions and the method of decisionmaking, as well as the method of coordinating positions; will determine the jobs and tasks of the INVOJ Association in accordance with articles 7 and 8 of this law; will determine which questions are to be regulated by other self-managing agreements between the members of the INVOJ Association; will determine the questions on which organs of the INVOJ Association will publish self-managing general acts and mandatory conclusions for the members of the INVOJ Association, and will establish the conditions and methods under which other organizations of associated labor may join the INVOJ Association; will also regulate other questions dealing with association into the INVOJ Association.

#### Article 12

The indirect managing organ of the INVOJ Association, i.e., the president of the collegial managing organ of the INVOJ Association will both nominate and dissolve the managing organ of the INVOJ Association, with the agreement of the Federal Executive Council.

Workers with special privileges and responsibilities in the work community of the INVOJ Association will be nominated and released from duty by the managing organ of the INVOJ Association, with a specific self-managing agreement on association or statute of the INVOJ Association, since it decides on their [the workers'] individual rights, obligations and responsibilities, and the realization thereof.

#### Article 13

The INVOJ Association must advise the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense on questions from its area of activity at least once a year, or as necessary or requested by them.

#### Article 14

The SFRY Assembly will perform social supervision over the work of the INVOJ Association.

#### Article 15

The Federal Executive Council will perform supervision over the legality of the work of the INVOJ Association in questions from Article 6 of this law.

Should the Federal Executive Council determine that a self-managing agreement concluded within the INVOJ Association, or any other self-managing general act of the INVOJ Association, clashes with the SFRY Constitution or the federal law, it will prevent its execution and will institute proceedings before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to determine the constitutionality or legality of the prevented self-managing agreement or any other self-managing general act.

The Federal Executive Council must institute proceedings before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia in accordance with Paragraph 2 of this Article within 30 days of the prevention. If the Federal Executive Council fails, within this period, to institute proceedings before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, the cessation of the execution of the act will stop after this period of time has run out. Should the Federal Executive Council institute proceedings before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, the cessation of the execution of the act will stop when the proceedings are finished.

#### Article 16

If, within the INVOJ Association, the execution of certain jobs in Article 6 of this law is not insured, the Federal Executive Council will, at the proposal of the Federal Secretary for National Defense, prescribe temporary measures for the protection of the special social interest and the unity of the system of work in the area of production and transportation of armaments and military equipment.

The Federal Executive Council will invalidate the regulation stipulated in accordance with Paragraph 1 of the article as soon as the execution of these jobs is insured within the INVOJ Association.

#### Article 17

The work resources of the INVOJ Association will be provided by the members.

The criteria and standards for providing the work resources of the INVOJ Association, and the method of calculating and paying for these resources will be established by the self-managing agreement on joining the INVOJ Association.

#### Article 18

Each year the INVOJ Association will publish a work plan, a financial plan and a final account.

Regulations which are valid for the organizations of associated labor will apply to the financial affairs of the INVOJ Association.

#### Article 19

The work association of the INVOJ Association will be established in order to accomplish the professional, administrative-technical, auxiliary and similar jobs of common interest to the members.

The self-managing agreement on joining the INVOJ Association or other self-managing general acts of the INVOJ Association will establish the professional, administrative technical, auxiliary and similar jobs performed by the work association of the INVOJ Association.

#### Article 20

The jobs which are decided by the organs of the INVOJ Association cannot be transferred to the work association of the INVOJ Association.

The mutual rights, obligations and responsibilities of the workers in the work association of the INVOJ Association and the INVOJ Association will be regulated by a self-managing agreement, in accordance with the law and the self-managing agreement on joining the INVOJ Association.

#### Article 21

The work association of the INVOJ Association will have a manager who will organize the work process in it and who will be responsible for the legality of work and for the execution of the jobs and tasks assigned to the work association of the INVOJ Association.

#### Article 22

The association of the armament and military equipment industry of Yugoslavia, which was founded before the day this law came into effect, must adjust its organization, work and method of conducting business, as well as self-managing general acts, to the regulations of this law within 1 year from the date this law takes effect.

#### Article 23

This law will go into effect on the eighth day after its appearance in the SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ.

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CSO: 2800



## UNIVERSITY STUDENT DESCRIBES LIFE IN MILITARY SERVICE

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 16 May 79 p 15

[Article by Vladan S. Zivojnov]

[Text] The beginning was more than favorable; there also came the first congratulations by the professors, everything pointed to the fact that a socially desirable image of a student was being formed according to the model "if we only had more people like him we would go a long way." At that point some "objective" circumstances came into play and the full-time student became a part-time one. This affected even his grades. Those who did not understand, or had simply not recognized the pathos of the case, poured forth phrases such as "he burned out in the first minutes of the game." It appeared to him increasingly that he was slowly losing his grip and no longer in control of the situation. Something urgently needed to be done; something revolutionary, without compromise. More and more frequently he caught himself thinking about whether to be... or go in the service? They kept telling him that this was a prosaic solution; it was not a resolution at all, but an ordinary avoidance of the issue, because when he returned the matter would still be at the point where he had left it. There were also some very concrete arguments such as the fact that the length of service for students who had not completed second year is extended [by 3 months]. At that time he was still not quite aware of the significance of those 3 months. He needed three more exams for the status of the lucky one who serves only a year. A liberating idea occurred to him spontaneously: "The army cannot keep a person occupied 24 hours a day. Is it impossible to pass three lousy exams in a year's time?" They responded to this by saying that it was obvious he was going in the service for the first time. "You can tell that to someone else--he spoke confidently--one needs to have only a strong will and even stronger motivation, which I will have in abundance." A strategy originated in his head--to kill two birds with one stone: pay the debt to his fatherland, and complete the second year of studies at the university.

## Science in Semi-Illegality

With his chin up and a determined look and with thoughts tossing in his head of a better tomorrow, he set off for the draft board. There he

received the first lesson on the topic "you are not the one who decides when, where, and how, just--go home and wait. We shall call you when the time comes." They called him after 4 months of uncertainty and void. Up until then he thought that the draft was something one evaded, rather than awaited upon like the resolution of one's housing problem. Finally, he found himself in the legendary olive-gray uniform. Now they are all equal. They are all equally lost.

The time came for the first official stratification; what is your name... where do you come from... what is your occupation... --student. A student? Yes, what is so unusual about it? It is not unusual, comrade, what year are you? Second. So, you are serving 15 months?! For the time being--intrudes the student from Belgrade in the voice of a man who is holding an ace in the hole. This short conversation unexpectedly drew the attention of the other olive-gray individuals to him. He became aware of the fact that the "subspecies of students" was not as widespread as in the environment which he came from. It is incredible, he thought, that being a student means something. There came the first general meeting with the aim of developing the feelings of being a member of a collective, best achieved by defining common problems, and joint attempts to overcome them. There was a discussion involving essential questions such as the ineffective cleaning of the toilets, and the scandalous work hours of the canteen. Before the conclusion of the meeting a student from Zenica came up with a well framed question: "Is it possible to provide a room where the several of us who are students can study during our free time?" The colonel did not make the pause characteristic of one's emphasis on the significance of the question, and especially the answer, but rather, in a monotonous voice of a man fed up with the whole thing, said what the student expected but was hoping he would not hear: "Comrade, you are here to fulfill your obligation to your country, not to study." The response did not excite anyone (the canteen will be open for an hour after dinner) except several of them who were directly involved. While the student from Zenica was speaking, the one from Belgrade felt his chair becoming too hard, as if he had been nailed to it. He realized that with these kinds of things one must go through the "back door." It was necessary to start in semi-illegality.

#### The Superiority of an Idea

In accordance with current sociological trends here the general feeling of being lost was also accentuated by a coerced compression into a crowd. People then attempt to find themselves in various ways; some through improvised sports activities, others in large amounts of beer, cigarettes, and verbal masturbation, others yet have tried to become totally lost by sleeping themselves into oblivion. In all of this the student from Belgrade felt the superiority of a "man with an idea." He approached its realization systematically; he made a work schedule and took advantage of every opportunity to fulfill his daily quota of studied pages. Shortly, they formed a narrow circle of persons with common views.

They were careful not to study in groups and thus draw attention to themselves. This was necessary because in order to find time for studying one had to "cut corners," which was no good, and punishable as well. While the group was studying in the most secluded corners of the barracks, one student-soldier always remained in the crowd so that in case of necessity he could gather the others. All of this, of course, contributed to the charm of their preoccupation. Their activity was far from being prohibited, but it still touched areas which were not permitted, and could have been obstructed for a great many reasons. The attempt to accuse the company--a lawyer from Zagreb, a professor from Belgrade, two students from Zenica, and two others from Belgrade--of sectarianism was rendered senseless by its co-equal member, Djavid, who could hardly sign his name. Time was (of course) passing; the student from Zenica needed to leave in order to take an exam. His drawback lied in the fact that during those couple of months he had gained the status of a man who could not be trusted with responsible tasks. He was not permitted to go to the exam. At a short consultation the company decided that the student-soldier was to leave illegally. He did and, thanks to the olive-gray effect, it all went brilliantly. He, first of all, approached the professor and asked if he could be examined first because there was a possibility of an interruption by the military police who were on his track. His return was triumphant, the only speck being the 4-day extension of his military term for an arbitrary departure from the unit. The man was, of course, a "national hero."

#### Currents Among the Olive-Gray

Among the olive-gray intellectuals there were two general currents. Some of them had adjusted to the "line" very well, setting examples in all respects, and being always pointed out as model soldiers and members of the youth organization. Some were popular even among soldiers, thanks to which they regularly "gathered the fruits." On the other side was the opposition. Although a minority, they were rather popular by virtue of being most frequently subject to attacks by the superiors. The student from Zenica was an extremist. The student from Belgrade was somewhat more perfidious. He was considered a good soldier because of his good scores in training, and his relatively active role in the sociopolitical education of the soldiers. This general impression was spoiled by the fact that he was a member of the opposition. His superior was nevertheless making efforts, within the limits of his authority, to provide him with as much time for work as possible. This was so perhaps because he was 2 years younger than the student from Belgrade who gave him support at moments of authority crises. At the time of the examination period there were no problems surrounding his departure. He, of course, appeared at the exam in a uniform. The first question was: "How much longer do you have left, colleague?" He returned crowned with glory, with optimism in his heart and an 8 in his grade booklet.

At the beginning of the winter the student from Belgrade was bestowed exceptional trust. He was given the task of starting the fire in the furnace

and cleaning the military area. This provided him with the right to stay within this area late at night and to study at a real table near the furnace, rather than on a trunk in some warehouse, wrapped in two field coats, as he had done up until then. Now he had a shelter and, if the officer on duty was not meticulous, he could stay up even past midnight and study in peace. The whole thing was ruined by his reassignment. Good references, with perhaps some reservations, helped the student from Belgrade to gain the favor of a single individual in the chain of command. He was assigned to duty which enabled him to study intensively during the afternoon. He was crowing enthusiastically. Yet within himself he still feared that this was too good to continue.

### The Rise and Fall

Some 20 days later he was removed with the explanation that his handwriting was bad. Between the lines of this explanation was someone's opinion that the army must not be a school for elitism and technocracy. He found himself on guard duty. He was nonetheless permitted to leave for the next exam. He failed. No external factors were of any help. He was dazed by so many instances of bad luck in such a short period of time. Guard duty is an apocalypse for soldiers. During the ensuing month he engaged in the optimistic belief in a pessimistic tomorrow. One day he became driven by his positive stirrings. Thanks again to that good soul he found himself performing duty where he could work on his own thing as well. He wiped the dust off the books and continued studying.

He is now facing a wall of two exams and an approaching examination period. His work is becoming increasingly an end in itself--sustenance for the defense mechanism of self-deceit. It is a means which helps him to successfully tune out the environment which (let's face it) is no good for anyone. Study and preparation for exams at one time served the purpose of making the days spent in the service meaningful, rather than writing them off as useless. At present that same study is merely a sufficient reason for shutting himself in 2 square meters of unplastered walls and crossing out the dates on his pocket calendar.

It would be a great success if the student from Belgrade were able to say about that year: "It was not just a waste of time." Provided that certain favorable conditions came about at the right time, and certain posts were filled with a larger number of flexible people, this phrase of the student from Belgrade could become a rule. He now secretly wishes that at the forthcoming exams the professors would first of all ask him: "How much longer do you have left, colleague?" He would have so much to tell them on the subject.

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RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS DISCUSSED AT SAWP CONFERENCE IN MOSTAR

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 79 p 8

[Excerpts] Further tasks of the Socialist Alliance in realizing the social and religious policy have been determined at the Mostar inter-opstina meeting of the Socialist Alliance of the Working people. Our self-management society has never conducted a two-faced policy toward its believers or the religious communities. Religions and religious freedom are regulated by a general social policy, constitutional principles and laws. All the activities which range within these frameworks present the structural part of the self-management rights of believers and religious communities.

Our society has always fought against clericalism which divides the citizens according to their religious creed, favoring "its own" religion, denouncing atheists, stirring up religious intolerance and national division.

The socialist community is also waging the struggle against sectarianism toward the believers and religious communities. There are still occurrences of difficulties being made for religious communities to realize their rights as defined by the legal norms.

At the meeting, numerous examples were given which speak about activities of some priests outside the legal norms. They use religious rites and funerals for holding "sermons" of political nature, usually oriented against our social-political concept.

There are also attempts to persuade as large number of children and parents as possible of the necessity of attending religious classes which deviate from the pure religious character.

The participants at the today's meeting stressed the necessity for the Socialist Alliance to continue to support in all the opstinas the full realization of already defined social policy which is related to the rights, position and activity of believers and religious communities.



TITO'S SON MISO BROZ INTERVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Titograd POBJEDA of 25 May 1979 on page 7 carries an interview with Tito's son Miso Broz by POBJEDA editor Slobodan Vukovic. The interview was held in the Zagreb apartment of Miso Broz, where he lives with his wife, Mira, who is a dentist, and two children. In the interview Miso Broz talks about his life, his hobbies and his work as a director of Inakomerc work organization of INA enterprise which specializes in foreign trade. He also make brief [favorable] comments about his father. The article also includes pictures of Miso Broz as a child (born in 1941 in Zagreb), as an adult with his father and at home with his wife and child.

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**DATE FILMED**

Aug 23, 1979

